

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph

WILL "THE MIRACLE OF 1792" REPEAT ITSELF?

From the N. Y. Tribune.

In the summer of 1792 France was partly invaded and partly threatened by armies of an extensive coalition. Prussia and Austria were marching against her; the Empire and the King of Sardinia were ready to join them; Spain, Rome, and Naples were expected to follow suit; Russia promised aid to the invaders; the English Parliament rang with thundering appeals against the invader. In one word, the whole of Europe seemed to enter upon a crusade against an isolated state, and that a state convulsed and shaken to its very foundations by an unparalleled revolution, a state whose ruler was a captive in his own blood-drenched capital, whose army was demoralized and half-disbanded, and whose legislature was dictated by frenzied mobs. Revolutionary France seemed to be lost, her leaders doomed to terrible vengeance. But revolutionary France, instead of sinking upon her knees before Europe, in arms, redoubled the inner fury which seemed to consume her, and by dint of that fury drove the foe beyond the frontier, and carried war, convulsion, and freedom into the lands of the invaders. The world was astounded by this extraordinary phenomenon, and even posterity calls it still "the miracle of 1792." And at the time of our writing, seeing France again invaded, convulsed, and menaced in her integrity and with but slight chances of an ordinary escape from the terrible consequences of folly and disaster, the observer, led by a more or less sympathetic curiosity, anxiously asks himself and history, Is there much probability of the miracle of 1792 repeating itself? Can France; the ensnared giant, once more arise like a Samson, and by one grand exertion shake off the foe? The answer of history, if studied with candor in connection with the present, is—we must state it—sadly discouraging to the friend of France, and that on various grounds.

First, the invasion of 1792, compared with the one which last month laid low the armies of Napoleon III, was far from being in any degree powerful, in spite of the vast dimensions it apparently assumed. The armies sent against France were neither numerous nor brought up in the school of victory; their movements were slow and vacillating; their commanders pedantic or imbecile followers of an old traditional strategy, which became entirely worthless when the genius of revolution created its own in the French camps; the monarchies which sent them were as hostile to each other as they were to the common enemy.

And it is necessary, in order to show the vast difference between the invasion of 1792 and that of 1870, to draw parallels between that tool of charlatans and mistresses, Frederick William II, and William I; between the Prince of Coburg and Moltke; between Lucchesini and Bismark; or between Valuy and Jemappes and Gravelotte and Sedan?

And then, in fighting the ill-commanded, scattered, and disunited forces of the then degenerate, womanish, and generally priest-ridden courts of Vienna, Berlin, Turin, and Madrid, revolutionary France drew her courage, inspiration, and boldness not only from her first almost unexpected military successes, but from deeper and mightier sources. These were the necessity of conquering or perishing; of destroying or being destroyed; the fanaticism of new ideas, more powerful than any that had ever agitated Europe, ideas which acted with the magic of a world-regenerating revelation; the intoxication with which the recent victories, in the name of equality and fraternity, over caste, the throne, and the altar had filled the hearts of the disfranchised people; the concentrated power of volcanic forces which an all-crushing terrorism knew how to elicit from the scattered members of a nation suddenly aroused to terrible self-consciousness; and, finally, the certainty of meeting with allies burning with equal passions wherever a breach could be made in the ramparts of effete tyranny. At the moment when Ferdinand of Brunswick began his retreat, retiring like a lamb after having roared like a lion, the convention met, and decreed a new era for France and the world. France believed in it, and her hosts carried their faith triumphantly far beyond her borders, as the followers of Islam had carried theirs from Mecca to the Pyrenees.

Now all these sources of inspiration and success are wanting to the menaced France of to-day. She has not only to fight well-organized and well-led armies, flushed with patriotic enthusiasm and the pride of wanted victory; she has not only met with crushing and humbling reverses at the very opening of the contest; but, what is worse, she is devoid of even a spark of that fanaticism which saved her in 1792, and made Paris a world-shaking volcano in the following years. She entered the lists with a bad conscience, and debauched and enervated by twenty years of the most degrading of tyrannies, and that a tyranny based on mere materialism, and accepted from political apathy and cynical unbelief in ideas; and she has now, in this supreme crisis, no other moral resource to fall back upon but ordinary patriotism, a sentiment capable of great sacrifices, but not of miracles. The grand ideas which by turns inspired or agitated France after 1789 have all sadly spent their force. The republic, instead of founding fraternity and freedom, led, in the first instance, through the massacres of Paris, the *royades* of Nantes, the *mitrillades* of Lyons, and the like, to the 18th Brumaire; in the second, through the 10th of December, 1848, and the 2d of December, 1851, to the ignominious self-abdication of the sovereign people in 1852. Bonapartism—that is, "la Gloire"—ended, in the first instance, after the sacrifice of millions of her sons to that idol, with the surrender of Paris and the captivity of St. Helena; and, in the second, with the more humiliating surrender at Sedan and the farcical captivity at Wilhelmshafen. Revived Bourbon legitimism killed itself, in July, 1830, by its own stupidity. Orleansism, which replaced it, showed its inherent want of vitality by being swept away by a slight revolutionary blast, in February, 1848. Socialism made itself hateful by leading to the carnage of June, 1848, in which it was stifled; and universal suffrage lost all its sanctity by sanctioning every act and demand of triumphant usurpation. And, to make the case worse, while France is without faith and without enthusiasm, the enthusiasm of her foes, the Germans, and their proud belief in their own intellectual and military superiority, have risen to a pitch never before reached, and are productive of astounding displays of energy.

At the moment, too, when France has to

make her supreme effort, her organism, as of late constituted, finds itself almost fatally deranged, not to say destroyed. Paris, which has become both her head and heart, is, so to say, severed from the trunk of the country, and its other disjointed members, from which the effort is expected, are left palpitating, but without sufficient life of their own. This condition is owing to the stupendous centralization which the revolution created, the first empire developed, and all subsequent reigns strengthened, and which, radically transforming the organism of the nation, has finally almost entirely drained the provinces of brains, impulse, and self-directing power. All authority—military, judicial, or administrative—all political or intellectual leadership—all higher talent, in whatever branch of mental activity—has been turned into that one grand reservoir, Paris. All French men of eminence in the ruling spheres of national life are Parisians by education or in consequence of their public career. The country is accustomed to receive from that all-directing centre its administration, its guidance, its convictions, its intelligence, its impulses, its very life-blood. All this, again, was vastly different at the time when revolutionary France was invaded and menaced. There were life, independent vitality, and animation in all her limbs, and the common foci, Paris, served to unite and regulate the national forces without anywhere exhausting them. Nay, Paris at that time received its inspiration, its greatest intelligence, its violent impulses, in main part, from the country, which seemed with noble and passionate resistance to the absolutism of Louis XVI came from Dauphine and Bretagne. Provence sent to Paris the most powerful orator of the time, Mirabeau, and the almost equally eloquent Girondists, Ismael and Barbaroux. Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonne, the foremost leaders of the Girondist party, came from the department from which it derived its name; their able and noble-hearted associate, Lanjuinais, from Rennes; Buzot, from Evreux; Fétion, from Chartres; Roland, from Lyons. Bretons formed the club out of which that of the Jacobins was developed, and the most terrible of terrorists, Barere, Merlin de Thionville, Billard-Varennes, Fabre d'Églantine, and Robespierre himself, with his two nearest associates, St. Just and Couthon, were provincials, as were also the most conspicuous clerical revolutionists—men widely different in character—the Abbe Gregoire, Bishop Talleyrand, and the Capucin Chabot. Mme. Roland and Charlotte Corday came from the provinces, and so also "the organizer of victory," Carnot, and its great promoter, the "Marseillaise," For such ability and wisdom it is vain to look to the country districts of the France of to-day, while Paris is isolated, paralyzed, and perhaps on the eve of a surrender. Patriotic endurance, blunders on the part of Prussia, and the intervention of disease or of foreign powers, may still restore France in her integrity; but salvation through a repetition of "the miracle of 1792" seems to us as little possible as salvation through the appearance of another Joan d'Arc.

THE SUPPRESSION OF ELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

It is claimed that the Republican party has finally restored the Union by admitting to representation in Congress every Southern State. The falsity of this claim we propose to show by showing that in no less than three of these States—to wit, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas—the Republican party has forbidden any election for Representatives this fall.

In Georgia the Republican Legislature passed on the 20th instant an act, drawn up by Attorney-General Akerman, to alter the time of the fall elections from the 8th of November to the 21st, and the constitution of that State, to the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of November next; the plain intent of this act being to tide the election over till Congress be in session this winter, so that if the exigencies of the party require such a step it may be still further postponed until November, 1872.

In Mississippi a curious trick is relied on by the Republican party to forbid an election for Representatives in Congress this fall.

When General Ames, as district commandant, proclaimed certain persons elected in 1868 to the Legislature of Mississippi, said persons kindly reciprocating, as will be remembered, by declaring General Ames United States Senator, he announced sundry scum as elected to the unexpired term of the Forty-first Congress, and other scum to the full term of the Forty-second. By virtue of this latter certificate—a certificate altogether invalid, since the Federal Constitution expressly ordains an election of Representatives every second year—it is declared that Mississippi is to have no Congressional election this fall; the idea being that it is better to have the General Assembly of Radicals, as they are called, than to have that delegation stand three Conservatives to two Radicals, as it assuredly would with an election in November, 1870.

From Texas it was some time since announced, in a "Petition of the people of Texas to Congress to guarantee to the people a republican form of government," that the reconstructed State government meditated a denial this fall of a Congressional election, by a failure on the part of the Legislature to enact the necessary legislation; and by latest advices we have it that that body has finally adjourned without taking any steps towards such legislation. The consequence is that there will be no election for Representatives in Congress in Texas this fall. In an announced that the people, indignant at such disfranchisement, will hold an election of their own motion; but, as it is a foregone conclusion Congress will pay no attention to the credentials of any Representative so chosen, it may be set down as an absolute Texas is denied an election this fall.

The net denied to the Republican party in these several procedures is, first, a complete nullification of the danger of seven Democratic Congressmen coming up from Georgia this fall; second, a full delegation of five radical members from Mississippi; and third, such a condition of abeyance in the Congressional election in Texas as leaves said election to wait the pleasure, or the necessities, of the party. In one form or another these advantages are gained by a denial of those elections which the Constitution requires, which the Republican party promised, and on the popular impression that such elections will be held that party now banks. It becomes the duty of every Democratic press and speaker throughout the country to dispel that impression, and, in the light of the facts hereinbefore stated, show that the Republican party has disfranchised no less than three States, now that they are fully reconstructed, as completely as it ever disfranchised them in the palmist days of its bayonet reconstruction rule.

THE PRUSSIAN LINE OF COMMUNICATION.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Now that King William has set down with his army to invest Paris, it becomes a matter of interest to inquire how his long communications are to be kept open. The siege may be a long one, for the French army inside is fighting in its last ditch and hopes everything from time; and the fortifications of the city, even in the weakest point, are formidable enough to suggest the slower mode of reducing them by the more and parallels approaches rather than the more pronounced and risky mode of storm and bombardment. King William's army, therefore, if the siege is protracted, will require food, ammunition, clothing, medicines, and the other necessities of an army, and he must look to his communications for the means of supplying them.

The main-line of communication open at present is the great Strasburg Railroad, which runs from the Prussian camp at Paris to Strasburg, through Chalons, Bar-le-Duc, Nancy, and Luneville to the Rhine, and which is held by the Prussians almost throughout its entire route. Next, however, it connects with another railroad running north, through Metz and Saarbrück, into Prussia, and by connections to Coblenz and Mayence. At Metz the Prussians have been busy building a branch road running round the fortress, so that there need be no breaking of bulk from the heart of Germany to the besieging army at Paris. This is the route over which King William transports the supplies for his army, a distance of about two hundred and seventy miles, in the enemy's country.

So far we have heard of no determined effort to cut off his supplies by breaking up this line. Prussian troops in strong detachments from the besieging armies at Oul and Metz hold the important positions on the eastern end of the line, and other detachments, probably from the main army before Paris, preserve the westerly portion intact. These are doubtless able to beat off any cavalry attack that may be made upon them,

and are supplied liberally with material to repair the road where it is damaged by their enemy. The French infantry cannot damage it materially, for it cannot be spared from a more important work of raising the siege in a force strong enough to hold the line for any length of time, and, as a stronger reason yet for its security, King William would certainly make up any deficiency thus created in his supplies by levying only the more heavily upon the comparatively fresh country in which he is now operating. The long line of railroad communication, which General Sherman kept open from Atlanta to Nashville, and, in fact, to Louisville, was much more difficult to maintain than the present one maintained by King William. Sherman's line was longer; the country was infested with guerrillas, of whom the rear of the Prussian army seems to be singularly free; he was illly provided with material for repairing the road; the country in which he operated had already been impoverished by the long war which it had undergone, and his army was dependent daily, almost hourly, on the supplies which came over this one single-track railroad. Yet it will be remembered how completely he kept this line intact. The trains which brought him provisions and supplies were not detained twenty-four hours on the route at any time, and his army never once felt any greater need for clothing or food or ammunition than was occasioned all through our civil war, even in recurring camps, by the negligence or incapacity of our quartermaster, commissary, or ordnance departments. Judging from this standpoint, and from the facts in the case as set forth above, King William may rest easy as to communication with his base. He will not be starved out. He has nothing to fear on that score—nothing on any score, but the vigilance and determination of his enemy within the walls of Paris, the rapid movement and skillful management of his enemies outside the walls of Paris and the impatient mutterings of revolution that begin to be heard in the heart of his own Germany.

Such are the views of the gentleman in 'Mo'bie. It is in this way that he "condenses the essence of events." It is from a lofty philosophical pedestal that he declares Mr. Hugo "step by step to have descended to the lowest degree of social and political infamy." For one who announces himself as "a Democrat," and who has no condemnation for a fanaticism which sought to overthrow our own Government, and the social anarchy with which the Rebellion threatened the Republic, it strikes us that this person's affection for law and order, as petrified (we cannot say embodied) in the person of Bonaparte, is somewhat hard to be understood. There can be no "Republicanism" in France redder than the pseudo-Republicanism which the Slaveholders' Rebellion was set afoot to promote. Do all good ex-slaveholders, even in their low estate, feel called upon to sing hymnals to an ex-tyrant even in his low estate? If so, let them sing. But, by all means, let them also find somebody who is a real, honest, rational Secessionist to lead the music, and not this humbug of a Mobile philosopher.

"MY POLICY."

From the Memphis Avalanche.

We are not surprised at the course ex-President Johnson sees fit to pursue. Our opinion of the motives which govern him has not changed within the twelvemonth. Those who censured the *Avalanche* a year ago for opposing Mr. Johnson's aspirations for the Senate will now see that they, and not the *Avalanche*, were mistaken as to his character and aims. We see no reason to recall a line or a word printed in this journal then. Time has shown the ex-President possessed of the spirit we then imputed to him—a spirit which would sink every other interest conflicting with his own. A year ago the ex-President made a desperate struggle for the Senatorship and lost. After a year's burrowing in seclusion he re-emerges for another contest of the same kind. The speech at Gallatin last Saturday was the first gun of the campaign, designed to defeat General Brown, if possible; if not, to at least Johnsonize the new Legislature. It turns out that, stripped of its grandiloquence, "My Policy" is that policy which will most easily hoist Andrew Johnson into the Senate. Last year Mr. Johnson's artillery was resistance to impeachment—a struggle endorsed by Conservatives North and South. He was beaten. Now he re-enters the field with other weapons, and with renewed strength and vigor. He is not content with scouring the broad, open plains for living issues, but goes down among the dead men, and exhumes the bones long crumbling to dust. These, though dissolving in his hands, he brandishes exultingly over his head, as a savage brandishes his war club. His battle-cry is, revenge, and his weapons are those which were buried at Appomattox. Digging up the dead body of secession, he proposes to employ it as a bludgeon to batter down the New Tennessee born of the Constitutional Convention, hoping to step from its ruins to the summit of his ambition. He knows that General Brown believed the doctrine of secession. He knows that the gentleman would not stand upon a platform repugnant to his principles; and he knows that the convention in nowise endorsed secession or any other dead issue. But he looks for followers to reviving the bitter animosities of the war, when passion and prejudice ruled; and when the few purblind Bourbons who still foster this baleful spirit were less powerless for mischief. Andrew Johnson represents one, the other extreme. One strives to build up hatreds against moderate men, who believe in the Union, and who stand upon a platform repugnant to his principles; and he knows that the convention in nowise endorsed secession or any other dead issue. But he looks for followers to reviving the bitter animosities of the war, when passion and prejudice ruled; and when the few purblind Bourbons who still foster this baleful spirit were less powerless for mischief. Andrew Johnson represents one, the other extreme. 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